tribal group as a whole from which the chieftain is "granted" his yearly share, while in other cases they are his personal possessions, inherited through the male family, which he can dispose of as he pleases. It appears that a stage between tribal and feudal society is represented here, a combination of both systems which may have existed in this way for centuries, and which is largely primitive in character. 423 619 622 565

The aristocratic Kurdish households are, in fact, extended patrilineal families for which the term is _fesiliya_, puzzling in its similarity to the Latin _familia_. The same noun is sometimes applied to houses of great wealth and numbers, but this seems to be comparatively rare. Only these households and _sayyids_, descendants of the tribe of the Prophet, keep genealogies (_sajara_, from Arabic _shajara_, "tree"). In the case of the _sayyid_ the title can be inherited on either side, but the patent of nobility is solely patrilineal. One of the tests of nobility is said to be the ability to name one's patrilineal forebears to seven generations, and no one in Rowandiz, outside of these families, is able to perform this feat. The titles of the nobility include _beg_, _agha_, and _mir_, all of Turkish derivation. In Ottoman times _pasha_ was also in use, and the grandfather of Isma'il Beg was called "Abdullah Pasha." The Arabic _shaykh_, literally, "old man," appears, as in such distinguished Kurdish figures as Shaykh Mahmud, leader of the revolts in 1922 and 1930, and Shaykh Taha, 565 596 [173] 64 565 85 554

CHAPTER VI

THE FAMILY

In treating the families of Rowandus, it is unnecessary to describe in detail those of the official class, for the officials and officers are of diverse ethnic origins, Arab, Kurd, and Turk, and they are often unmarried or unaccompanied by their wives. Even when settled temporarily in the town with a spouse, they represent only in part the larger social units to which they belong elsewhere in Iraq. None of the officials and officers has yet made Rowandus a permanent residence. It is thus possible, making reference to the officials whenever necessary, to direct attention to the Kurdish populace, aristocrats and commoners. It has been chosen to treat the family of a wealthy merchant as typical, and to draw comparisons with others from this central treatment.

It is important at the outset to define what is understood by the Kurdish "family." For the townspeople, the term most regularly used is mal, "house," (perhaps from Arabic, mal, "property"). The word is alternately used for the physical structure itself or for the group of kindred to be found in such a dwelling. Postmarital residence is normally patrilocal, the groom taking his bride to his father's house or to a new dwelling furnished

by himself or his paternal relatives. If, however, the children of two brothers who live under the same roof marry, the newly-wedded pair may remain at home. The people who might thus be expected to be found in the mal or "house" may include a man and his wife, his paternal grandparents, his paternal uncles and their wives, his unmarried paternal aunts, his parents, his brothers and their wives, his unmarried sisters, and the children of the males of this group, boys and unmarried girls. Strictly speaking, such a unit has little realization among the townspeople. There is a strong prejudice against unmarried adults, both male and female, and most girls leave their parental home for that of a husband soon after reaching maturity. When there is more than one son, it is commonplace for the younger, when he marries or soon afterward, to occupy a new establishment, provided either by his own labor or by a subsidy from his parents. For the lower classes, the size of the dwelling precludes too extensive a gathering. The household of Shakir Effendi is made up of Shakir Effendi, his wife, three sons, a daughter-in-law, a grandson, and a number of servants. Shakir Effendi's daughter is married and lives in the home of her husband. Ra'uf Effendi's son died in childhood, a victim of the "evil eye," and his mal thus contains only himself, his wife, his two unmarried daughters, and the servants. The aristocratic establishment of Muhammad 'Ali Agha of Jindian is much like these, save that one of the sons has already been provided with a separate domicile.

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The mal, as a group of kindred, is thus a fluid patrilineal unit which can range from a single couple and their children to a much more numerous ensemble. It only includes male maternal relatives in cases of exceptional emergency. A man who finds himself without paternal relatives and left destitute for some reason may seek temporary shelter with his sister's husband. Similarly, a widow whose deceased husband's relatives cannot care for her and her children normally applies to her father or brother. Only in cases such as these are males belonging to another mal to be found in the household. The mal is not strictly a named group, although one can, for example, speak of the "Mali Shakir Effendi," referring, on one hand, to his house, and, on the other, to his family. The Kurds do not use family names, and, because of the immediate result of most marriages in forming new units, commoners rarely keep track of collateral relatives beyond the degree of first cousin or trace the direct patrilineal line more than one or two generations. The point of reference is usually one's father or one's son. One of the sons of Shakir Effendi is formally termed Aziz Shakir Mujjrim (the last is a nickname of his father), and the same person is occasionally called "Baba Mawsad," the father of Mawsad, from the name of his son, the second practice exactly like that of the Arabs. The mal can be endogamous or exogamous. The preferred match is between the children of two brothers, and, if both occupy the same house, marriage is thus within the mal-group. Otherwise, many marriages are arranged between unrelated families.

unrelated families. For the townspeople, then, the mal is both a building and the group of relatives who live therein. A townsman who occupies a new dwelling, although he retains his connection with his parental home and may speak of himself as a member of that mal, has formed a new unit which becomes a mal in the social sense in its own right.

The matter of the chieftains and a few large and wealthy families of social pretension is otherwise. It is customary, as in the case of commoners, to refer to an aristocratic household as a mal, for example, the "House of Isma'il Beg," but a chieftain belongs to a fxmilira, an extended patrilineal group in which a much wider and more exact accounting of kin relationships is kept. The chieftains, as has been said, are, with the exception of seyrids or descendants of the Tribe of the Prophet, the only persons who memorize genealogies, and this, more than anything else, is the distinguishing feature of the fxmilira. Like the mal, this group is endogamous and exogamous, and is not formally named. The point of reference in its genealogy is some more or less illustrious forebear. Thus the deceased Isma'il Beg and his mother Lali Khan (who was a collateral relative of Isma'il Beg's father) are referred to as "descendants of Kor Pasha," that famous revolutionary chieftain who achieved a temporary independence from the Turks in the early decades of the nineteenth century. The nucleus of this genealogy is a list of patrilineal ancestors in a direct line ascending some seven or eight generations, a

half-share of the holdings of his father. Such a system 428
is immediately divergent, because, although there is an 582
exchange of marriages between cousins in one's own generation, 604
the strains divide in the next. A man's children must
intermarry with those of his brother, and would not, for
example, espouse those of his cousins. The larger proper-
tion of the property, the full male shares, follow the
same divergent lines.

Such an idealized system, however, does not seem to 582
exist. A man is permitted to marry any of his other
cousins, the daughters of his paternal aunt, maternal
uncle, or maternal aunt, or, as often happens, can take a
wife completely unrelated to him. In Rowandux, unlike
certain other groups reported in the Middle East, there
does not appear to be any hierarchy of preference among
the cousins after the daughter of the father's brother. It
was not possible to compile a list of marriages extensive
enough to permit definitive comment on the relative fre-
quency of these five types of marriage. Nevertheless, from
examples, there appeared to be a high percentage of matches
between unrelated persons. Coupled with this was the in-
ability of most persons in the town to name their relatives
beyond their grandparents, uncles and aunts, first cousins,
and immediate family. This group, incidentally, corresponds
closely with that outlined as making up the mi or "house" 596
in its most extensive sense. In addition, they were able
to name the parents, some of the uncles, aunts, brothers,
and sisters of their wives. A scattering of the in-laws of

their own brothers and sisters was known. The impression 582
the investigator obtained from all of these things was that 596
the patrilineage, expressed in the mal or "house," strongly
overrode the lateral calculation of relations to extend or
broaden the kinship group. Marriages undertaken for 581
economic or social advantage add to the divergency, inas-
much as they bring together at one point unrelated groups.
It must be remembered, however, that Rowanduz was re-
settled from various sources after its destruction in the
first World War, and the marriages of its families, many
of them migrants to the town, cannot be expected to show
the characteristics of a similar community whose popula-
tion had been left undisturbed. In the agricultural 621
villages of the district, it was said, somewhat arbitrarily, 602
that "everyone is related," but one suspects, in view of the 571
importance of the patrilineage and the form of inheritance,
that even in these places marriages characteristically
cause divergence in forming new family or mal-groups, and
the village population is constantly regrouping, rather
than constituting a systematically interrelated whole.

The Kurdish kinship nomenclature, as recorded at 601
Rowanduz, makes systematic use of a limited number of
basic terms. The first group of these, twelve in number,
indicate consanguineal relationships, those held to be
in the "milk" of the mother or in the "blood:"

1. Ba bir	("Old Father")	Grandfather
2. Da dir	("Old Mother")	Grandmother
3. Bab	("Father")	Father
4. Dey	("Mother")	Mother

[Text continues on page 237]